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ASSIMILATION IN THE PHILIPPINES, AS INTERPRETED IN TERMS OF ASSIMILATION IN AMERICA

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Assimilation is psychic, as distinguished from amalgamation which is physical and founded on the biological fact resulting in miscegenation. So assimilation is intellectual and emotional; fundamentally it is emotional. Van Dyke suggests that, as assimilation progresses, it produces certain resemblances between individuals or ethnic groups, followed by developing likenesses. The likenesses become increasingly persistent until at last identity results; then and only then is assimilation complete. Only when the individuals or ethnic groups are emotionally dead to all their varied past, and are all responsive solely to the conditions of the present are they an assimilated people.

On the occasion of the recent Balkan War many thousand Greeks from America poured into the Grecian army, while scarcely one entered our volunteer army in the recent Spanish-American War; the Greeks in America are not yet assimilated. A few years ago during the threatening rupture between Norway and Sweden, foreign-born Minnesota Swedes sent word to the king of Sweden that they would gladly bear arms in defense of their Motherland—but they hastened to add that they would as quickly bear arms for America, their mother by adoption. The foreign-born Scandinavians in Minnesota are rapidly assimilated.

Probably the power of assimilation is the most outstanding and distinguishing characteristic of American social life of today. So accustomed to it are we that at first thought we might take it for granted as occurring everywhere and at all times. To do so is to proclaim our nearsighted vision. Hon. James Bryce wrote from the city of Tiflis, Caucasus, in 1875, Tiflis is

a human melting-pot, a city of contrasts and mixtures, into which elements have been poured from half Europe and Asia, and in which they as yet show no

signs of combining. The most interesting thing about it is the city itself, the strange mixture of so many races, tongues, religions, customs. Its character lies in the fact that it has no character, but ever so many different ones. Here all these people live side by side, buying and selling and working for hire, yet never coming into any closer union, remaining indifferent to one another, with neither love nor hate nor ambition, peaceably obeying a government of strangers who conquered them without resistance and retain them without effort, and held together by no bond but its existence. Of national life or numerical life there is not the first faint glimmer.

Thirty-five years later Mr. William E. Curtis wrote from Tiflis that

what Mr. Bryce said of Tiflis is equally true today. Perhaps it is even more true today than it was then because of the increase of population.

It is now substantially 850 years since the last extensive ethnic flood deluged Great Britain. Yet it is only within the confines of England that assimilation has anywhere nearly completed its process. Assimilation operates more rapidly than amalgamation in England, but outside England, as in Ireland and Scotland, assimilation with the English lags far behind its goal.

In America assimilation did not always characterize our people. In the Atlantic coast-wise colonies it was practically unknown. When the peoples of the diverse coast-wise groups filtered through the mountains westward the earlier individualistic ideas and ideals which had repeatedly caused splits in those groups along the coast gave way before the dominant interests of the new westward movement. Americanisms then began to form the American character.

America possesses an unprecedented ability of assimilation. To what condition or conditions is it due? In speaking of assimilation Münsterberg says:

America's whole success in that direction is determined by its geographical and economic situation, but not by its form of government (*American Traits*, p. 187).

In 1908 Hon. Joaquim Nabuco, ambassador of Brazil to the United States, said:

It is not patriotism that conquers immigration. Through our intercourse with you we see what it is that conquers it. You owe your unparalleled success, as an immigration country, first of all to your political spirit. . . .

The American political spirit is a combination of the spirit of individual liberty with the spirit of equality. Liberty alone would not convert the immigrant into a new citizen. . . . Equality is a more powerful agent. . . . It is the progress of your country, the place it has made for itself in the world, that helps with national pride the spirit of liberty and equality in winning over to you the millions of immigrants who try life in America (*The Approach of the Two Americas*, p. 7).

The two authors quoted are typical of the many; they disagree completely and diametrically as to the cause of American assimilation. Let us say that each in his positive statement, but not in his negative one, is partially correct. Assimilation in America is a complex of conditions, among which are the following—numbered for the sake of convenience and not to indicate relativity:

1. *Volition on the part of the person to be assimilated.*—Practically all immigrant aliens who have come to America, except the Chinese and Japanese, and some of the southeastern Europeans, especially Slavs and Italians, have come to America determined to become Americans. They deliberately “burned their bridges [of historic and hereditary emotions] behind them.” Assimilation of a person against his will is probably impossible; assimilation is immeasurably rapid when one’s chiefest desire is to be considered, at the earliest possible moment, a typical citizen of the country of his adoption.

2. *The English language as the common means of intercommunication.*—Probably the rapidity with which our spoken language is learned by immigrants is, next to assimilation itself, the most striking fact of American social life.

The English spoken language is memorable. Its sledge-hammer blows delivered as short Anglo-Saxon words or as longer words with stressed syllables of harsh consonantal sounds seem to have an advantage all over the world today. One can trade in the markets on navigable waters today more easily in the English language than in any other. The harsh brutality of the English spoken language makes it easy to remember—actually difficult to forget. Such a hold does its vigor get on the young, even foreign-born, children of our immigrants that their mother-tongue becomes a thing despised and to be forgotten. Alexander Francis, the Britisher, favorably contrasts the vitality and freshness of the

English spoken in America with "the anaemic refinement of speech in which Englishmen are apt to take pride."

The immigrants who learn in the streets or the school the use and meaning of such phrases as "play the game," "buck up," "a square deal," "be a good fellow," "put it over," etc., are bound to have their motives and emotions molded toward the fundamental ideal of American democracy—the ideal of an equal opportunity for each person to develop himself as far as he has capacity, so long as he does not interfere with every other person's equal right so to do. The constant use of fresh, virile language helps to make vigorous, alert, resourceful citizens of repressed subjects.

3. *Common education*.—Our compulsory attendance at school until the age of fourteen years, and the habit of newspaper reading have contributed largely to produce what Bryce says is a higher level of general education than exists elsewhere. Couple this condition with the present-day results of a "free press" and "free speech," and an educated public opinion results which becomes exhilarating ozone to the low-toned nerves of our immigrants. The necessary years in our primary and intermediate schools are very important, also, in furnishing the impressionable child with practical experiences of fundamental democracy with its individual independence and the leveling fact of childhood equality. The bully and the snob do not last long in the average primary and intermediate grades of our public schools; they become democratic, or enter private schools.

4. *Common religion*.—Americans have had so many things "in common," or, to put it in another way, so very few things not in common, that the disadvantages of diverse religions within a single nation are difficult to realize. America is essentially Christian, and the religionist finds scant cause for belief in serious friction even in closest scrutiny of the distant horizon. The protracted and deadly wars and persecutions of Europe within the so-called Christian faiths and between Christianity and Mohammedanism help us to see more clearly the assimilating factor of our common Christianity. There are lines of religious cleavage in America, to be sure, but the fundamental ideal of democracy is fast becoming at home in the sphere of religious belief, practice, and life, as

it is in the sphere of business, government, social intercourse, and education.

5. *Common attainable aspirations.*—With the exception of relatively small numbers of persons who come to America to escape political or religious pressure, our immigrants at all times belong to the class which with high hope and great courage come, after years of hard sacrifice, to seek an expectant fortune. America is still *el Dorado* for most immigrants. Very few among them do not rise in the social scale after coming to America—very few fail to find a “fortune,” that is, it is common for our immigrants to have aspirations which are reasonably attainable. Success in one’s undertaking engenders loyalty to the cause. Successful immigrants are loyal American boosters.

6. *Citizenship.*—I used to think the ballot should not be given to any person not born in the United States. I now believe one of the most important causes of America’s success in assimilating her vast numbers of immigrants is citizenship with its duties and privileges. Every man knows that in time he may become a part of that young, successful nation to which he has come. And though voters are herded in places at times, an immigrant citizen or prospective citizen is much more likely to be alert and responsive to American conditions than an alien would be in the country he had adopted but which would not reciprocate. Undoubtedly our immigrants somewhat modify Americanisms; undoubtedly, also, our potent Americanisms assimilate almost completely our immigrants as citizens. Just what the percentage of gain in assimilation is when our immigrants become citizens over what it would be if they remained aliens is, of course, only conjectural. But, in spite of the evils of herded voters, I do not favor making citizenship more difficult to secure than now. A horse bought on trial is generally criticized and his “good points” often minimized; a horse bought outright is defended, and his weaknesses, though discovered, are often minimized or cured. It makes a great deal of difference in the loyalty of most men whether a horse or a country “belongs.”

7. *Physical and human environment.*—There is no question about the tonic effect of American climate. The sudden drops in

temperature over most of the area of the United States produce in a wholesale way the therapeutic effect frequently sought and artificially induced at the instance of physicians for certain individuals who need "toning up." Americans are usually enthusiastic about the climate of their vicinity, whether they live in Washington, D.C., with its hot humid blanket of summer; or in Arizona with its summer days registering 120° in the shade; or in the interior valleys of California with their dripping and penetrating land-fogs in winter; or in Dakota with its blinding, often fatal, blizzards. In all those areas there are compensating conditions. American climate lacks deadening monotony. It has the quickening spice of variety.

The climate of America, and the magical resources of her vast domain, are irresistible in producing a new type of man. He is recognized the world over. He is restless, tense, vigorous, resourceful, confident, courageous, ready, and generous, with the habit of success.

It would be possible, probably, to exaggerate the influence of ethnic groups in America in the assimilation of our immigrants and yet not exaggerate the social influence. However, I wish to speak briefly of the ethnic group. George Burton Adams called attention to this matter as early as 1897. He said:

It is probable that the larger part of those [immigrants] who appear in our census reports as of foreign parentage are foreign in no proper sense. They are an important part of our Americanizing force. As we know by daily observation, the Americanized foreigner is a powerful aid to us in assimilating the recent foreigner (*Civilization during the Middle Ages*, p. 30).

Immigrants most commonly find homes in the vicinity of their friends and relatives who have preceded them to America. There the process of transformation—the ruthless slaying of the past and the careful implanting and nurture of the present—is the absorbing interest. This making of Americans often reaches prospective immigrants in their old homes. A foreign-born Minnesota woman wrote her friend who was about to migrate from Europe to America, "Buy yourself a hat in New York. Don't you dare get off the train in Minneapolis with a shawl over your head." So the effort is often made by our immigrants at once to resemble the Americans among whom they are to live.

The chief factors of assimilation in America have been named. They are: environment, citizenship, aspirations, religion, English language, and volition. What is meant by assimilation in the Philippine Islands? Does it mean assimilation of the Filipinos by Americans in the Islands, or does it mean the making of a homogeneous Philippine people out of the diverse ethnic and cultural groups now there?

I start with the assumption that knowledge of the two factors, environment and volition, is sufficient to convince one that the handful of Americans in the Philippines can never, against the Filipino's will, make typical Americans of the Filipinos living in the Philippine Islands. Today it is known that the environment in time perfects its own type of man. The American has introduced into the Philippines many new artificial environmental conditions, but the permanent factor of natural environment will eventually override all artificial environment which is not permanent. Since the Philippine Archipelago lies entirely within the tropics, and, since 7,000,000 of the 8,000,000 Filipinos live in the tropical lowlands (rather than in the more temperate highlands), it will not be possible for the Filipinos to come under the influence of such stimulating temperate-zone environment as exists in the United States. The Filipinos must remain a tropical people.

The phrase, "Assimilation in the Philippines," must mean the making of a homogeneous people out of the diverse groups in the Archipelago. I shall consider the making of that people under the influence of the artificial environment introduced by the American.

In the Philippines today under the influence of Americanisms are found beginning to operate the same factors that so dominantly operate in American assimilation. With no attempt to focus attention solely on the seven factors of assimilation named above I shall present the important conditions making for assimilation in the Philippines and present them under the same headings.

1. *Volition*.—It is impossible to know the exact desire of the people in the Philippines toward the adoption of Americanisms, though there is little reason to doubt the statement that an overwhelming vote against the American would be cast if the question was one of continued occupation of the Islands by America.

That the readers may have clearly in mind the peoples of the Archipelago, they will be presented briefly under this section, and characterized in terms of volition. There are about 8,000,000 natives in the Archipelago. They are divided into four distinct culture groups. First, the 7,000,000 christianized people, composed of eight dialect groups^{*} (commonly called tribes). These groups occupy solely the coastal lowlands, except the Cagayan group whose home is from the coast of Northern Luzon far up the Cagayan River. All, except the Visayan group, live in the island of Luzon; all, except the Tagalog group which centers about Manila, may roughly be located by provinces which share their names. The Visayan peoples occupy the central islands lying between the two large islands of Luzon on the north and Mindanao on the south.

These various groups, christianized by the Spaniards, are in numbers, culture, and importance the Filipinos *par excellence*. They had no common desire toward the Spaniard expressed in common concerted action, though the various local insurrections proclaim that most of the groups felt and resented the pressure of Spanish treatment. The Archipelago was discovered by Magellan in 1521. Spanish domination really began in 1571. The following insurrections have been recorded against Spain: 1588, 1591-92, 1649, 1660, 1750-1827 by Visayans in Bohol, 1762-63 by three separate groups independently, 1823, 1841, 1872, 1896-98. This last insurrection was the one in operation at the time Dewey destroyed the Spanish fleet, May 1, 1898. It was a Tagalog insurrection, and the Tagalog people believed that the American navy and army helped them throw off the Spanish oppression so they might be independent. When they discovered that the American was going to remain there occurred the most serious insurrection in Philippine history—the one begun against America February 4, 1899, and ending April 20, 1902. Within the next year began the very stubborn insurrection of the Visayan people of Samar and Leyte which continued for some three years.

All these insurrections were of the nature of defense, none were aggressively offensive. Not one of the insurrections was sup-

^{*} Christianized groups: Bikol, Cagayan or Ibanag, Ilokano, Pampanga, Pangasinan, Tagalog, Visayan or Bisayan, and Zambal. Besides these eight there are three small interior towns of Gaddan people in Central Luzon—perhaps 5,000 persons.

ported by even all of the people of a single dialect group—to say nothing of all the people of two or more of the eight christianized groups uniting against Spain or America at the same time. In 1809 the Napoleonic crisis in Spain caused her to grant the Filipinos the right of two deputies to the cortes. In 1812 Spain proclaimed a new constitution, and this allowed the Filipinos to send about 40 deputies; only three or four were usually sent however. In 1814 the constitution was revoked—even this did not awaken united opposition in the Philippines. The Ilokanos of Ilokos Norte at once revolted, but they were all. Each insurrection, however, may truly be said to have been the result of a determined effort on the part of some local group to resist a common pressure, but at no time was there an expression of the consciousness of common interest or of the value of concerted action.

The second large culture group is the “Moro.” These people are the five Mohammedan tribes² which occupy all the coastal area of Southern and Western Mindanao, and all the other islands of the Archipelago to the southwest including the southern coast of Palawan. They were never conquered by the Spaniards, and are breaking out against the Americans a number of times each year now. In their historic scourges over the Visayan Islands and even to the northern coast of Luzon villages from two or more of the five tribes sometimes united, though co-operation among all the tribes never occurred, nor did all the people of even a single tribe appear ever to have joined in such an expedition. The Moros were fast conquering the Archipelago when the Spaniards established themselves in Manila in 1571—Manila itself being in their hands. I do not know a man who is intimately acquainted with the Moros who believes the living adults will ever be assimilated by the American or christianized Filipino ideals.

If America was ever justified in closing her doors against an alien people, she is justified in closing the Philippine Islands against the Arab, because it was he who, as a trader, brought Mohammedanism to the five pagan tribes now Mohammedanized, and it is still the straggling Arab who brings it and keeps it alive in the Archipelago. With no more Mohammedanism introduced,

² The Moro peoples are: Lanao, Magindanao, Samal, Sulu, and Yakan. They number about 300,000 persons.

with the present generation dead, there is good reason to believe that the cause of the unabated fierce enmity of the Moros toward all other peoples in the Philippines would soon cease. So long as Mohammedanism continues assimilation will be impossible, because the Mohammedan will not be assimilated with the Christian.

The third group is the pagan Malayan. These people are brothers of the Moros who were pagans Mohammedanized, and brothers of the christianized groups who were pagans brought under the influence of Spain. They number about 700,000 persons in a score of tribes occupying all of Mindanao, except the coastal areas held by the Moros, and occupying the greater part of Northern Luzon. They are also found in most of Palawan and Mindoro, and in the mountainous interiors of many other islands where the Spaniards did not reach them.

Among many of these peoples I believe an overwhelming vote in favor of American control as against christianized Filipino, and, certainly, against Moro control would be cast if such a vote were taken. This is the view of many men who know them well. It must be said that so far the treatment of natives of the Philippines by other natives of a higher grade of culture has not been benevolent. And the pagans of Northern Luzon remember well the treatment they received at the hands of the *insurrectos* (mainly Tagalog people, under Aguinaldo) who passed through their country in 1900-1901. The fairest treatment, their greatest peace, and prosperity they have had under American control. So far as they know what Americanisms mean, it is believed they would wish them to be developed. I have no knowledge that they desire assimilation with the christianized culture of their kin. They have always resisted it, and the christianized groups had a wholesome fear and deferential respect for the pagan hillman. The development of Americanisms among these pagans, which is going on rapidly now, will draw them and the christianized Filipinos together by virtue of cultural similarities.

The fourth group is the Negrito. These people are a remnant of aborigines numbering some 25,000, who have not culture enough to possess clear or persistent desires toward assimilation with any other culture. They must be ignored in this discussion.

Besides these four groups of Filipinos there are Chinese, probably less than 100,000, and Japanese, probably some less than 200,000, all of whom will need to be reckoned with in the making of a united people in the Philippines. What the Japanese desire no man can say—at least no man can believe all that is said. As to the Chinese, it does not much matter what they themselves desire; but what their descendants desire will go far toward answering the whole question of the Filipino's volition toward assimilation, because they are *the* Filipinos. To be specific: During the latter days of my residence in the Islands in 1905 Governor-General Wright one day told me that he had recently personally received from one of the most distinguished Filipinos of the time, and a member of the Insular Civil Commission, the statement "that there was not a single prominent and dominant family among the christianized Filipinos which did not possess Chinese blood." The voice and the will of the Filipinos today is the voice and the will of these brainy, industrious, rapidly developing men whose judgment in time the world is bound to respect. Today I do not believe the wisest among them are in a position to agree on a reasonably permanent desire in the present problem.

2. *English language*.—First it should be noted that though the groups of people christianized by the Spaniards were all Malayan, yet the dialects of the eight groups were so different that intercommunication was next to impossible. In 1590 a council of Friars decided to teach each dialect group of natives to read and write its own dialect instead of Spanish—thus intensifying the dialect differences. During the governorship of Anda (1770-76), a royal decree was issued that Spanish should be taught the Filipinos instead of their own dialects. In spite of that fact it was said that only 5 per cent of the Filipinos could read or write Spanish at the time of American occupation. A Manila experience may serve to illustrate this lack of a common means of intercommunication. One evening in 1903 I was riding my horse in company with Judge D. R. Williams in the eastern outskirts of Manila when we came upon a large crowd of people in the street watching a man put a struggling woman into a covered caretilla. He bundled her over the tail-board, climbed in after her while the driver of the cart

whipped up the horse, and they disappeared in the dusk down the road. We tried for some time to learn the cause of the, to us, unique spectacle, but no one in the crowd could understand either my "pidgeon-Spanish" or the Judge's Castilian. At last someone brought up a crippled old man who could talk with us; he had been many years a house servant in a Spanish family. Through him we learned that "some man was stealing a woman"—that was all! This was in the outskirts of Manila, the capital of the Archipelago where Spanish influence was at its highest and where it had existed since 1571.

Today the English language has been acquired so extensively by means of the primary schools which exists in all provinces, and by high schools, normal schools, and trade schools that in June, 1910, the University of the Philippines was opened to take care of the numbers of English-speaking students who demanded a college training. In 1912 the Chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs said that at least 3,000,000 Filipinos have had instruction in English in the public schools of the Philippines. There are now in the neighborhood of 700,000 pupils enrolled annually in these schools. This number is about one-third of the population of school age.

The English language has gone more widely over the Islands, however, than simply within the schoolroom. That English words are quickly ingrafted into the Filipino's vocabulary was forced home upon the American in the Islands during early days of American occupation. Several times we found a few words of the American brand of profanity to be the only English spoken by Filipinos. The use of such memorable English was at times naïve and startling. I shall not forget the surprise I experienced on a beautiful October morning in 1902 when, getting an early start on a hike in the Upper Cagayan Valley, I met a smiling Cagayan belle whose trail crossed mine on stones over a shallow stream. She came gliding barefoot down the stony bank balancing a load of fruit on her head; and in her "best" English, as a sincere salutation, greeted me with the most cheery and pleasant-voiced American profanity I have ever heard.

Today one may go everywhere in the Archipelago among the 7,000,000 christianized Filipinos and find fifty or more natives in

each province familiar with high-school English, and on every hand there are children talking English on the streets. The English language is a common means of communication between the diverse dialect groups in the Islands such as the Spanish language had not become after more than 350 years of occupation, and such as the different Filipino dialects could not become. The government official last quoted said on this matter in 1912: "The hope of developing any real idea of nationality among the Filipino peoples of the future lies more probably in the spread of a common language than in any other one thing, and English offers the only hope to be raised in this respect." English, then, will be an important assimilating factor in the Philippine Islands, provided its growth continues as at present for a couple of generations more. Since January 1, 1913, English has been the official language even of the courts of the Archipelago.

3. *Common education.*—During the Spanish régime the christianized Filipinos were well taught in school, social life, and by example that physical work was undignified. The ideal and ambition of the youth of Manila during the first six or eight years of American occupation was to learn enough English so he could use a pen in a government office, wear pointed patent-leather American shoes, a black oven of a derby hat, clothing of American cut, and be considered an *elegante*, a Spanish dude.

Probably the most important fact developed by American education in the Islands is that the above view of life is false for a modern developing nation. Even the acquisition of the English language is probably of secondary importance to the development of moral fiber, physical strength, and general toning up in health and manhood through a man's earnest effort to earn his bread in the sweat of his brow—and to be proud of the sweat as well as of the abundant bread.

When the native teacher was first started in the American public schools it was the common thing for a servant to follow the dapper young teacher from his home to the school in order to carry his master's book. It was almost impossible to get young men to enter the first school of telegraphy established by the Americans. The Trades School languished for a long time because

no one wanted to learn to work. Now these things have greatly changed.

Every boy and girl in every primary school throughout the Philippines spends a considerable portion of each school day in work with his hands. In every manual exercise he is engaged in making some article of real value, either for use or ornament in his own home, or for sale. . . . A half-finished article, or a poorly finished article, is not acceptable; the work must be well done, completely done, and done to a definite purpose. . . . In every case the lessons of patience, perseverance, and honest work are drilled into the fiber of the child's mind until they become essential features of character.

Thus wrote Frank R. White, the late director of education, in 1911. Of another aspect of the education Mr. White wrote the same year as follows:

The model young man of earlier days was spotlessly clad; his occupations were sedentary, calling for no physical exertion and permitting of no soiling of linen or rumpling of personal composure. For physical exercise, it was proper to march seriously in school processions and take the evening air; and how much more rigidly were the standards of outward propriety enforced with respect to the young woman of the country! But now this new spirit of athletic interest has swept in upon the boys and girls with a force that is actually revolutionary, and with it come *new standards, new ideals of conduct, and, what is far more important, new ideals of character. These sports put red blood into the veins, new energy into body and mind, and establish new ideas of life's purpose and value.* For what boy can be satisfied with a dawdling, idle, careless, purposeless existence, if, for even a season or two, he has experienced the stirring discipline of public censure and public applause in hard athletic battles? Application, perseverance, and fair play may be words unfamiliar to such a boy, but he has learned the lessons which they represent and they will stay with him longer than any maxim learned from a book.

Today a common education is under way which will not only tend to add strong muscle, clear brain, and sterling character to the Filipino, but will produce abundantly the economic resources of life, enabling the people to satisfy an ever-increasing number of wants. Thus is being laid the foundation for a general rise in social status, a knowledge that culture is based on material prosperity and well-being, and an ambition in all men for an individually larger part in the common interests of the Islands.

Filipinos used to say that the Philippines contained a class of citizens which knew how to govern, and a class which knew how to obey. I believe history belies both statements. The new common

education in time will tend to produce a Filipino people which knows how to govern itself and how to obey its own laws. Then and only then will they be approaching assimilation.

4. *Common religion*.—There is no reason to doubt the statement that Christianity introduced by the Jesuits and the several orders of Friars was the most important assimilation factor in the Philippines in pre-American times. It operated in two ways. It brought a common economic culture to a remarkably uniform level among the eight dialect groups it converted from paganism. And, in its later harshness, as expressed by various religious orders, it assisted greatly in uniting the people against the church; several of the insurrections against Spain were really insurrections against the strangle-hold of the church.

Christianity still operates as an assimilating factor, and it is more important than before. The church orders which had so often been distrusted, and had irritated so many of the Filipinos, are gone forever, and an American archbishop is at the head of the Roman Catholic church. American Protestants are working among the christianized and pagan groups, and they have wisely divided the field, except urban residence centers of Americans, among the several different denominations—thus largely avoiding the probable confusion of the people. Paganism will not be more than a temporary check to the otherwise successful operation of Christianity as an assimilation factor. Mohammedanism apparently will be a permanent check; it is believed that Mohammedanism will be an unassimilable religion. A solution of the difficulty has been previously suggested.

5. *Common attainable aspirations*.—The most common aspiration in the Philippines now is for knowledge of the English language. Chinese, Japanese, pagan, Mohammedan, and christianized Filipinos eagerly strive to learn the language. This aspiration will be attainable for the youth as soon as sufficient revenue is available so that the remaining two-thirds of the children may be given instruction. It seems a reasonable and attainable aspiration. The next most common aspiration is that, shared probably by all christianized Filipinos, of an ever-increasing participation in the governmental control of the Archipelago. This aspiration is being attained in a magically short time; the frequent fear that it is too

short will probably be retained by the world until lapse of time proves, if it does so prove, that stages of culture may now and then be taken as a hurdle. The next most common aspiration is probably that for a Philippine protectorate under the United States; and the next, probably, is that for an out-and-out national independence. These two are not shared by all christianized peoples, and their corollary, that of a nation composed of all the diverse groups in the Archipelago, is not shared by Moros or pagans.

All these aspirations will assist the assimilation process just so far as they are shared by the diverse peoples.

6. *Citizenship*.—It should be clear by this time that the peoples of the Philippines are not of homogeneous culture. In this section attention will be placed upon the two classes of christianized Filipinos as they existed at the time of American occupation. Those classes should be defined not as “the class which knew how to govern and the class which knew how to obey,” but as the class with wealth and superior culture, with Chinese and often European blood, which, because of its innate superiority, aspired to make itself the governing body of the Archipelago; and the other class, composed of some 95 per cent of the christianized people, which naturally took leadership from its superiors, and was so uncultured that it could not compete in any way except in numbers with those same superiors.

That the desired freedom from Spanish control would have brought any further duties and privileges of citizenship to this second class of Filipinos no one who has lived in the Philippines believes. The withdrawal of Spain from the Islands would have meant no shifting or lightening of the burden from the second class, but only a change of the masters who would place the burden. That the leaders of the last insurrection against Spain desired simply to make such a change of masters, that, at the time, the conception they had of citizenship was still mediaeval—a copy of Spanish Middle-Ages method—is seen in the following entry in the diary of Aguinaldo’s physician made only one week before the capture of that leader:

After supper the honorable President [Aguinaldo] in conversation with B., V., and Lieutenant Carasco, told them that as soon as independence of the country was declared he would give each one of them an amount of land

equal to what he himself will take for the future of his own family, that is, he will give each one of the three gentlemen 13,500 acres of land as a recompense for their work.

Thus did the freebooters divide spoils among their henchmen; the acres of modern nations belong to the citizens, not to the "President."

In my judgment the work of assimilation in the Philippines will be slowest right here. Because of the relative fewness of the pagans, Moros, Negritos, Chinese, and Japanese, let us ignore them in this section—though the actual political problem cannot be solved by such a simple way of elimination. There are left the two classes, the superior and natural leaders, and the natural followers. Those leaders have an inherited superiority which has been enhanced by culture. Some of those leaders (what percentage I make no pretense of even guessing) know that national prosperity cannot endure in competition with modern nations unless the majority of the people have, as individuals, an intelligent conception of their privileges, responsibilities, and duties as members of that nation. Some of those leaders have no such conception; they may never have it—natural aristocrats exist in all cultures, as do natural democrats.

There is the other class, the majority class; they are the problem. They must be educated away from more than 350 years of quasi-peonage, must be taught to speak, and to reason, and to demand and get their rights as citizens among those who have been so long their superiors. More than that, they must learn the hard lesson that rights entail duties and responsibilities. While making all this development they must get economic independence due to individual training and honest efficient toil. To accomplish all this against their natural inertia of race, and the inertia of social and physical environment is not a task that can be completed by the year 1921, or, it seems to some well-informed and not altogether vicious Americans, not within less than the lifetime of two generations of men developing under favorable conditions.

7. *Physical and human environment.*—The Philippine Archipelago stretches for fifteen degrees through the tropics, and though there are about 3,000 islands, they are all geographically, climatically, culturally, and ethnically more interrelated than any of them

are to any other land areas. The physical environment should make for assimilation.

However, history has not recorded a case of a tropical people with a tropical environment such as the christianized Filipinos live in that of its own initiative has attained a relatively high level of culture. Such culture must have a foundation of material well-being which is maintained by perpetual toil by a majority of the people. Probably the chief reason for this backwardness is because people naturally do not long work hard in such an environment. Again, no stable democratic government has flourished in such a tropical environment, to say nothing of such a government having originated there. Perhaps the chief reason is found in the fact that only as conditions favor the majority of the people will the naturally superior few relinquish their grip on authority over the many. Tropical conditions seem never to favor the majority of a people, but only the most gifted few.

It seems natural, then, to expect that tendencies toward democracy, if found in lowland tropics, are due to alien introduction, and that they would flourish only under artificially induced conditions. In other words, though one might not be surprised to find a lowland tropical people assimilated enough to attempt to throw off a foreign yoke, he would not, in the present world-stage of the development of popular government, expect such a people to initiate and perpetuate a stable democracy.

The problem of assimilation in the Philippines, so far as the human environment is concerned, is practically nil. All the Filipinos, except a few thousand Negritos, are Malayan. There are the Japanese and the Chinese, but the latter with few exceptions marry Filipino wives and raise Filipino children. So that the only true aliens there are the Japanese, who may or may not amalgamate, and the few thousand Americans and Europeans whose future in the Archipelago is hemmed closely about the laws deliberately made by the Americans to preserve "the Philippines for the Filipinos." Everything ethnically should favor assimilation. The human hindrances are cultural; they are largely religious and governmental.

CONCLUSION

Continued assimilation in the Philippines is problematic. I see no reason for believing that assimilation in the Philippines would carry far if the implanting of Americanisms there should now cease. That they would cease today upon the withdrawal of America, even under guaranty of Philippine national independence by the powers or the establishment of an ordinary protectorate by the United States, is evident to those who know the present status of cultural conditions in the Archipelago. There is naturally little unanimity in matters of volition, language, education, aspirations, religion, or in equipment for citizenship. There is very uniform natural and ethnic environment, but these alone cannot, as has been proved by the past, overcome the cultural conditions that are now quite natural to the several groups of people.

I do see reason for believing that continuation of the American policy in the Philippines for at least two generations more will result in a marked degree of assimilation. As has been said, the natural and ethnic environment is favorable. The English language by that time would have furnished a well-nigh universal means of oral and written intercommunication. A relatively high level of education would have become common, carrying with it, not simply facts of modern culture, but a developing economic sense and ideals of physical, mental, and moral health—all of which would greatly raise the social level of the majority of the people. The religious differences would not be greater than now, and they could be minimized. A people so developing would have, on the one hand, ever loftier aspirations for one another, and, on the other hand, an ever fuller expression of citizenship as those aspirations were realized. If a young and fecund people, such as the Filipinos most certainly are, is given sufficient tutelage in the fundamental principles of democracy, I see no reason to doubt that it can profit by it. Further, I see no reason to question that after such tutelage the factors of assimilation will have so far operated that the Filipinos can long maintain a level of individual attainment and a status of social justice that will greatly enrich humanity.